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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the impact of family structure variables, family socioeconomic status, and participation in center-based preschool day care programs on the social-psychological development of children in terms of their affective identification with parents, self-concept development, and a variety of indices of social behavior adjustment. Attention is given to four related topics: (1) the impact of day care centers on the socialization of young children; (2) causal factors in primary socialization; (3) theoretical implications of the symbolic-interactionist orientations (i.e., the relationship between identification with significant others, self concept, and social behavior); and (4) some hypotheses of family sociologists about the relationship between institutional encroachments on family functions and changes in the cohesiveness of the family unit. Data were obtained by structured interviews with a parent and a child from 286 families, half of which had children enrolled in day care centers. Data and conclusions are discussed. (Author/SB)

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DAY CARE CENTERS, FAMILY STRUCTURE, AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS: A STUDY IN EARLY SOCIALIZATION

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ABSTRACT

The purpose is to examine the impact of family structure variables, family SES, and participation in institutional preschool child care facilities (day care centers) on the social-psychological development of the child (in terms of his/her affective identification with parents, self-concepts development, and a variety of indices of social behavior adjustment). Attention is given to four related issues: (1) a policy-pragmatic concern -- the impact of day care centers on the socialization of young children, (2) a concern with explicating the causal factors in primary socialization in terms of two theoretical models -- one using SES and the other using family structure variables as independent variables, (3) a concern with exploring, empirically, some of the theoretical implication of the symbolic-interactionist orientations, namely the relationship between identification with significant others, self concept, and social behavior, and (4) a concern with examining, empirically, some hypotheses of family sociologists about the relationship between institutional encroachments on "family functions" and changes in the cohesivieness of the family unit. Data were obtained by structured interviews with a parent and a child from 286 families, fifty-percent of which had children enrolled in day care centers. The model using family SES as independent variables provides a better explanation of early socialization than do family structure variables, and family SES and day care participation can be viewed as "functional alternatives" in terms of providing resources for early socialization and the social-psychological development of the child.

We wish to express our gratitude to the Woods Charitable Foundation, Inc. for its generous financial support of the research project from which this paper was written. Also we wish to thank the Bureau of Sociological Research of the University of Nebraska (Lincoln) and the Center for Social Research of Creighton University for the provision of various research facilities. And finally, we would like to thank those colleagues who have made constructive comments on various drafts of the paper, including Nick Babchuck, Jerry Cloyd, Alan Booth, Jack Angus, Marlyn Wilmeth, and Judy Kessler, as well as others too numerous to mention here.

Day Care Centers, Family Structure, And Socio-economic Status: A Study In Early Socialization

The focus of this paper is to examine the impact of family structure variables, family socio-economic status, and participation in institutional pre-school child care facilities (day care centers) on the social psycholosical development of the child, in terms of his/her affective identification with parents, self concept development and a variety of indices of behavioral adjustment. The present study goes beyond previous studies of the effects of day care centers on children in that it (1) utilizes a vastly larger sample than ordinarily encountered in such studies (see Caldwell et al.,1970; Braun and Caldwell, 1972), (2) uses a community based population---whereas many prior studies were of children in clinical, experimental, or university-based centers and (3) attempts to assess the impacts of day care centers in the context of other powerful forces that presumedly impinge on the early socialization process (family structure and family SES). The issues addressed by this research can be clarified by identifying four distinct but highly interrelated concerns which have animated scholars in a variety of disciplines as well as large segments of the public.

(1)

THE IMPACT OF DAY CARE CENTERS
ON THE SOCIAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CHILDREN

Such concern has been a matter of intense public debate now for at least a half decade (see Messer & Messer, 1974; Ross, 1974; and Newsweek, 1975). Public concern was reflected in an executive veto by the president in 1971 of a comprehensive child care bill--which would have greatly subsidized and expanded DCC facilities. The veto was partly on the grounds that the bill contained bad implications for the development of children and family-weakening implications. Much of the concern appears to stem from the perception that an expansion in DCCs would threaten the traditional nuclear family-centered model of childrearing. The concerns and fears of the public about these matters have been reflected in a wide variety of professional and scholarly opinion. Such opinion ranges from mild reservations about DCCs to flambouyant assertions that the advent of the DCC means the demise of the American child, family, and ultimately society in general (see Bronfenbrenner, no date; Hoffman, 1963; Kagan, 1968; Kagan and Witten, 1970; Kardiner, 1961; and Moore et al., 1972). Scholarly concern about DCCs appears to focus largely--though not exclusively--on the assumption that the quality of child-socializing agent interaction is critically different in the nuclear family than in a DCC, where such interaction is assumed to be of a less intense, continuous, and "primary" DCC and on the

lack of continuity of such agents through a character. Behind this assumption there appear to be two others: (1) that the "primariness" of social interaction is mainly determined by the frequency, intensity, and continuity of social interaction, and (2) that such primary social interaction is a necessary requisite for the adequate social-psychological development of the person. Thus Kardiner (1961) suggests that "...where the child's socialization is undertaken by a multiplicity of adults, he fails to positively identify with and idealize any particular adult...(which)... results in a failure of the child to develop an adequate sense of self-esteem and subsequently hinders his ability to relate interpersonally to others". And according to Kagan (1968:87) "We believe...(that DCCs)...have potential dangers for the child's growth, for it could produce a child who has seriously diluted ties to his parents. It will also weaken the emotional involvement of the mother with her own child". Moore et al. are even more blunt in stating that "in summary, research and comparisons of school entry ages clearly point to the need ...for a warm, continuous mother or mother-surrogate relationship (without a succession of different people) until the child is at least seven or eight" (1972:820-21)

(2)

THE CAUSAL FACTORS IN THE SOCIALIZATION OF THE CHILD.

Taken collectively, the concerns of the above mentioned analysts suggests that the frequency and continuity of the interaction between the child and the socialization agent determine the ability of such an agent to become a significant other or role model for the child, and hence exert a powerful impact on the whole socialization process. Presumedly the structure of the nuclear family provides much greater interaction potential in terms of frequency and interaction than does the structure of the DCC. In its most simplified form such an argument (hereafter termed the interaction potential argument) is consistent with Homan's assertion that "...persons who interact frequently with one another tend to like one another" (1950:111). Further, it could be suggested that such liking for others forms the basis for liking oneself, and that liking oneself is the cornerstone of self-esteem upon which adequate social-psychological development takes place. Needless to say, not all observers of early socialization would accept such assertions. One could argue, in fact that the qualitative aspects of child-socializing agent interaction are better explanatory variables for socialization outcomes than the structural and/or chronological potentials for such interaction. In this regard, a favorite such variable has been the SES of the family. Thus,

Bronfenbrenner (1958:424) has summarized studies suggesting that "...working class parents are consistently more likely to employ physical punishment, while middle class families rely more on reasoning, isolation, appeals of guilt, and other methods involving the loss of love". Exactly how or why this is so is not clearly understood. Bernstein (1964:55-69) has suggested that the key maybe located in class correlated perceptual patterns and patterns of intrafamilial communication---or as he has called them, restricted vs. elaborated codes. Kohn finds differences not so much in the kind of punishment parents use, but rather in the goals to which punishment is applied. Thus middle class parents, both fathers and mothers, are more likely to ascribe predominant importance to the child's acting on the basis of internal standards of conduct, while working class parents ascribe greater importance to compliance with parental authority (1969:22). Generally, these analysts suggest that the attitudes and behavior of middle class (vs. working and lower class) parents is condusive to the formation of strong family identifications and a coherent and positive self concept. Coopersmith (1967) and Rosenberg (1965) both find, for instance, that the parental attitudes of positive concern, acceptance, and warmth are directly related to the social status of the family and to the development of high levels of self-esteem in young people. This argument (hereafter termed the social class-or-SES model) has

no clear-cut implication for the impact of DCCs on child development, since it locates the casual variables in class-correlated qualities of child-parent interaction rather than the structurally determined interaction potential. Only the latter would presumebly be significantly affected by the child's regular participation in a DCC.

SYMBOLIC INTERACTION THEORY[3] AND SOCIALIZATION

Symbolic interaction theory suggest that the basic units of analysis for human behavior are interactive episodes in which the actors are involed in reciprocal definition and interpretation of the verbal communication and behavioral gestures of others. It is out of such symbolic interaction that role taking, the internalization of social norms, and the development of a self concept (the intrapersonal organization of identities--or self names) occurs. Overt behavior is then understood as a function of such internalized roles, social norms, and the self concept. The present research is mainly concerned with understanding the relationship between identification with significant others, the development of the self concept, and overt social behavior. This relates to the previously stated concerns in that most symbolic interactionists, from the seminal thinkers (Mead, 1934; Cooley, 1902) to more contemporary analysts (Foote and Cottrell, 1955; Hess and Handell, 1959; Rainwater, 1968) have understood the nuclear family as the critical structure within which such

interactive primary socialization processes take place. Specifically addressed by this paper is whether and how the child's participation in a DCC affects the development of his identification with family figures, self concept, and social behavior patterns. A more abstract concern is the issue of the consistency between self concept and social behavior. While symbolic interactionists have not been insensitive to the possibility of discrepancies between one's self images and actual behavior, they have generally emphasized the consistency between the two. Freudians, on the other hand, have tended to treat cognitions about the self, especially verbalized ones, as rationalizations for the underlying affect states that presumedly determine behavior, while behaviorist psychologists tend to treat verbal and cognitive behavior as irrelevant at worst, and at best weak and less salient forms of behavior which one should not expect to find in a consistent relationship with overt behavior. This issue, the relationship between self concept and actual social behavior, will be examined subsequently.

(4)

THE INTEGRATION AND COHESION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY IN CONTEMPORARY SOCIETY

This is a minor concern of the present paper, not because it is substantively less important than the others, but because the data generated by the present study will be able to deal with the issue in only a limited and tangential way. Sociological

discussion of the viability and cohesion of the contemporary family began with a classic essay written several decades ago by Osburn and Tibbits (1934). After enumerating the traditionally performed functions of the western family, they suggested that the dilemma of modern times has been that many of these functions were being stripped from the family by encroachment from other institutions. Thus the integration and the viability of the nuclear family was cast in doubt because the family was becoming increasingly functionless in complex industrial societies, in which many of the functions traditionally performed for members by the family are being performed by encroaching political religious, educational, and welfare structures. The most strident articulation of this view was by Sorokin (1941) and Zimmerman (1947) who predicted the immanent demise of the American family, and with it, the collapse of American society. Inevitably, contrary views emerged. Parsons and Bales (1955) saw the family as becoming functionally specialized around providing emotional gratification and early socialization, and Burgess and Lock (1960) chronicled the evolution from the traditional to the companionate family. None the less, there remains to this day a strong current of doubt about the viability of the family among family sociologists. Winch, for instance suggests that as a society develops from an undifferentiated to a highly complex condition, there evolves a series of societal structures with specialized

functions. The transition from simplicity to complexity then takes important functions out of the familial setting, thereby reducing familial interdependence, and resulting in a weakened familial structure (1971:102). Winch further suggests a relationship between the degree of functionality of family for its members and the integration of the family in the following hypothesis: the more functional the family, the greater is the probability that the child will form identifications within the family... (1971:393). Similarly, Adams (1971:144) asserts that "the modeling of day-to-day behavior after members of the nuclear family is somewhat less likely today than in the colonial family. In fact, precisely where the individual will find his role models, and whether or not they will reinforce one another, is problematic". In the context of the present study, the growth and spread of DCCs represent another institutional encroachement on what was exclusively a function of the nuclear family (primary socialization). If the arguments of Osburn and Tibbetts, Winch, and Adams are correct then the children who are regular and long-term participants in DCCs should have weaker psychological identification with adult family members, and this can be taken as one index of weakened cohesiveness of the modern family as its functions are progressively absorbed by other institutions.

It is suggested here that the concerns of these family sociologists are similar to the previously mentioned child and

developmental psychologists, mainly the effect of removing primary socialization--even partially--from the sphere of the nuclear family, though their reasons for such concerns differ.<1> There are further similarities between the two groups of scholars. Some family sociologists have assumed that the structure of the family limits the degree of the functionality of the family much like the developmental and social-psychological views cited earlier assumed that the structure of the social unit determines the potential for intense primary social interaction. Thus "...it is theorized that the structure of a social system determines the limits of that system's functional potential. In other words, a relatively elborate structure allows for more functionality than does a relatively simple structure" (Winch, 1962:134). On the basis of this assumption, he hypothesizes that families are more functional (and hence more cohensive) for the child if one or more older siblings are present (Winch, 1962:134). In short, Winch seems to be arguing that the structure of the family limits the interaction opportunities--in terms of the number and variety of people and roles available--which in turn determines the liklihood that members of the family will engage in joint activities, find gratifications within the family, and identify with family figures. There is some support in the literature for Winch's assertions. Thus Bossard and Ball find that the size and structural complexity of the family have an impact on the

integration of the family unit and the kinds of psychological attachments members have for the family unit: "Whereas large-family respondents thought of the family as a group to be maintained and served by each member for the good of all, those from small families thought of it more as a launching pad for the projecting of adequate individuals into the outside world. Some of the former admitted that the closeness of family life had made it extremely difficult for them to relate to outsiders in later life (1966:38)."

Thus the theoretical concept of interaction potential elaborated earlier, which--if the sources cited are correct--has a powerful impact on the kinds of interaction that shares the child's psychological attachments to family figures (identification), self concept development, and social behavior patterns, can now be recast as having three relevant dimensions: (1) the structural complexity of the family unit and (2) the frequency and (3) continuity of the child-socializing agents within the interaction. Only the first two dimensions are explicitly dealt with here, because it is assumed that there is far less continuity among socializing agents within the DCC than within the family. To determine if these two dimensions of interaction potential (family structure complexity and frequency of child-socialization agent interaction) operate as hypothesized on the specified dependent variables (identification with

family...etc.) and to compare such impacts with those of the SES model becomes the central empirical task of this research.

THE FORMALIZATION OF RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The foregoing discussion can be formalized in two sets of hypotheses, the first embodying the interaction potential arguement and the latter the socio-economic status arguement. Thus for the interaction potential arguement:

H[1] The larger and more complex the family structure and the less the periods seperation from the family, the greater the degree of primary interaction within the family.

H[2] The higher the degree of primary interaction within the family, the greater the probability that children within the family will identify strongly with family members.

H[3] The stronger the identification with family members, the greater the probability that the child will develop a positive self concept.

H[4] The more positive the self concept of the child, the more his social behavior patterns will exhibit a successful adjustment to others in the social environment.

For the socio-economic class argument:

H[1] The higher the socio-economic status of the family, the more tolerant, and warm the attitudes and behavior of parents toward the child.

H[2] The more tolerant, and warm the attitudes and behavior

of parents toward the child, the greater the probability that the child will strongly identify with parents.

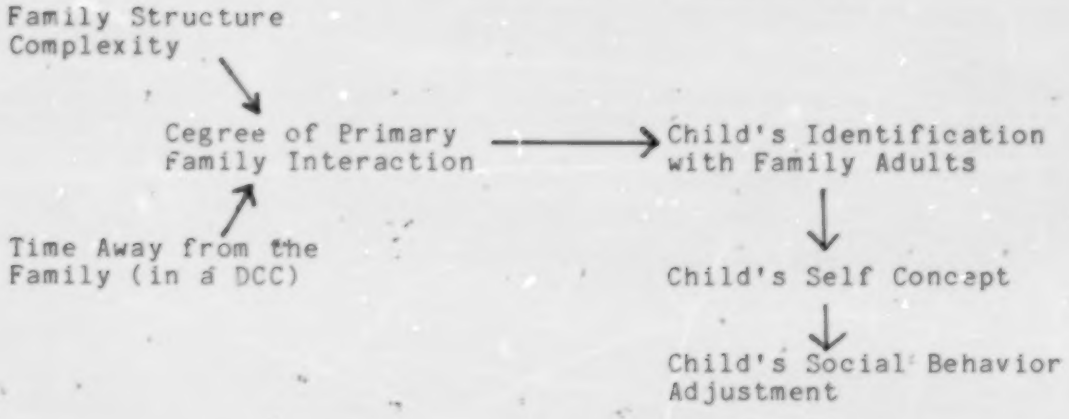
H[3] The stronger the identification with family members, the greater the probability that the child will develop a positive self concept.

H[4] The more positive the self concept the more his social behavior patterns will exhibit a successful adjustment to others in the social environment.

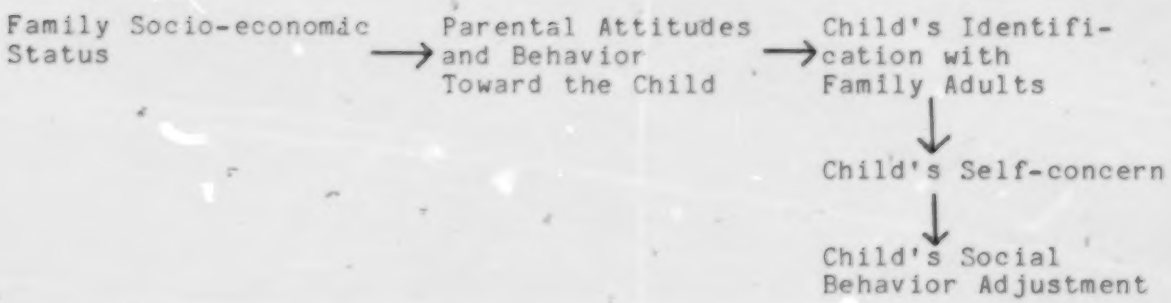
Three explanatory comments are in order: (1) Only the first two hypotheses in both sets differentiate between the interaction potential and the Socio-economic class model, hypotheses three and four have to do with explicating the theoretical concepts of symbolic interaction theory alluded to previously. (2) "Positive self concept" is here used to include both its clinical meaning (e.g. highly developed senses of self esteem and autonomy) and its meaning in terms of early socialization, that is, the successful internalization, of broadly conventional cultural norms (e.g. sex-role identification, taking care of one's things, getting along with others). (3) "Social behavior patterns that exhibit a successful adjustment to others in the social environment" (hereafter termed social behavior adjustment) should be broadly understood in the context of what Foote and Cottrell (1955) mean by "interpersonal competance" that is, the ability of the individual to establish and participate in on-going and

reasonably harmonious relationships with others. These two sets of hypotheses can be further explicated in the following causal diagrams, specifying independant, intervening and dependant variables:

THE INTERACTION POTENTIAL MODEL


Family Structure Complexity
Cegree of Primary Family Interaction
Child's Identification with Family Adults
Time Away from the Family (in a DCC)
Child's Self Concept
Child's Social Behavior Adjustment

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASS MODEL


Family Socio-economic Status
Parental Attitudes and Behavior Toward the Child
Child's Identification with Family Adults
Child's Self-concern
Child's Social Behavior Adjustment

In sum, the pragmatic goal of this research is to examine the possible impact of DCCs on the social development of children and family integration, while the theoretical goal is to examine

evidence that would suggest which of the two models (if either) is the better model for understanding primary socialization.

RESEARCH METHODS

In spite of the well known hazards of matching designs, (Blalock, 1967; Althouser and Rubin, 1970) a frequency matching design was deemed most appropriate given the nature of the problems to be investigated and the resources available. First, a master list of families and information about family structure variations was obtained from DCCs in the Omaha (Ne) metropolitan region. These DCCs were selected to be roughly representative of the variety of such centers now operating in the research area---large and small publically supported centers, private "entrapreneurial" centers, private "franchise" centers, and private non-profit centers (mostly church related). The residential area of the family was used as an estimate of the economic status of the family, and local relators' assessment of residential property values were used as a check against the researcher's knowledge of various ecological status zones of the metropolitan region. Information provided about family structure was constructed into a family structure-complexity index along lines suggested by Winch's theory.<2> Next a list of families of four and five year old children not enrolled in day care centers was obtained from a variety of local service agencies. From this list an appropriate number of families was selected matching as

closely as possible the DCC sample on family economic status and family structure complexity, by the same methods. The resultant sample included 286 families and children about which data was collected. Of these families 119 (41.6%) had children who were currently enrolled in DCCs, and the control population matched by age of child, family economic status, and family structure complexity included 166(58.4%) families. Data about the length and extent of the child's participation in the DCC, the frequency of the child's interaction with adult family members, parental attitude and behavior toward the child and the mother's assessment of the social behavior adjustment of the child was obtained by interviews conducted in the home. At the same time a self concept inventory was administered to the child. One segment of the self concept inventory was used as a measure of the child's psychological attachments to adults in the family (or, in the symbolic interactionist's lexicon, "identification with significant others" in the family). Since parental behavior toward the child, the child's self concept and social behavior adjustment represented the most challenging measurement problems they will be discussed in some detail below.

PARENTAL BEHAVIOR TOWARD THE CHILD

Maternal warmth has been suggested as an important

child-rearing variable in research summarized by Yarrow, Cambell and Burton (1968) and one which may vary significantly with social class. Warm maternal behavior is here defined as meaning any behavior of the mother toward the child which can be characterized as having a strong positive affective tone. Although the original use of this variable used only warmth, it was felt that it would be interesting to include observations about its opposite (maternal "coldness"), because having these paired observations may represent a better sampling of maternal behavior regarding the child. Interviewers were instructed to make observations by a series of notations in the margins of the interview schedule of instances of maternal warmth and coldness during the interview, and while the child was taking the self concept inventory. The entire interview schedule was then scored, simply by adding the number of warmth and cold notations in the margins. An attempt was made to develop a summary index by dividing the total number of warmth observations by the number of cold observations, with the resultant score being termed the warmth ratio. In spite of the initial expectation that there would be a strong inverse relationship between warm and cold maternal behavior, the resulting correlation suggested only a modest relationship between the two ($r = -.191$; $p = .013$). Since the two are, then, to a large degree independent of each other, results were reported for each measure alone, as well as the summary index.

SELF CONCEPT AND IDENTIFICATION WITH FAMILY ADULTS

These variables are discussed together here because they were measured utilizing different aspects of the same research instrument. This instrument was the U-Scale developed by Ozehosky and Clark (1970) to measure the self concept of pre-school children. The U-Scale is a projective-type self concept inventory, but unlike most such instruments it (1) has explicit scoring protocols, and (2) makes rather few imaginative demands on the subject. The instrument consists of a series of bi-polar drawings of children in various positive and negative situations designed to tap such self concept dimensions as autonomy, competance, appearance, sex role identity, and interpersonal relations, both with other children and adults. The child is asked to indicate which drawing on each card is more like himself. Those items on the U-Scale which are indicators of the child's perception of his relationship with adult family members are here operationally defined as indicators of the child's identification with family adults, while the remainder of the items were scored to derive a self concept score.<3>

Since this instrument was central to examining the research hypothesis, it was pre-tested and refined in several ways. First: it was thought that there might be significant variations in response patterns for white and non-white children. An initial

pre-test conducted at one day care center showed no significant differences when sorted into these ethnic categories. Second, an item analysis was undertaken to select those cards from the U-Scale most strongly associated with high overall scores. The computation of a point-biserial correlation suggested that there were about seventeen items from the whole set of fifty cards which were highly discriminative of high overall scores. For this reason, as well as for the fact that a somewhat shorter inventory was desired than the original with fifty cards, those seventeen items were utilized in the present study. Subsequent data analysis suggested that there were modest positive correlations between the various dimensions of the test (ranging from $r = .20$ to $r = .38$).

SOCIAL BEHAVIOR ADJUSTMENT

The instrument chosen to measure these variables was the Behavior Disorder Checklist developed by Glidewell et al. (1957), in which the mothers were asked about the occurrence, duration, frequency, and severity of the child's behavior difficulties in the following areas: (1) digestion, (2) setting along with grownups, (3) unusual fears, (4) nervousness, (5) setting along with other children, (6) sleeping, (7) eating, (8) temper tantrums, (9) daydreaming, (10) saying things that are not true, (11) destructiveness, and (12) stealing. These according to Glidewell et al. are symptoms of social and psychological

disturbances in children, when they occur with great frequency and severity. The authors found a positive correlation between scores on the checklist and independent clinical assessments of children. In addition, Williams, Bean, and Russell (1970) have used the checklist successfully as an instrument to measure the impact of parental constraint on the development of social and behavioral maladjustments in children. Mothers were asked whether or not the child had ever exhibited the symptom, how frequently, and how long the symptoms had persisted. The mother's responses were then converted into rank order scores, and a percentile rank assigned to each respondent for each dimension. The percentile rank scores were summed to provide one index which was defined as the social behavior adjustment index.

Mothers were asked whether or not the child had ever exhibited the symptom, how frequent, and how long the symptom had persisted. The mothers' responses were then converted into standard scores for each of these dimensions by assigning values from one to ninety-nine in relation to the total distribution of responses for each dimension. Then the standard scores for each dimension were simply added to produce a single index, number termed the social behavior adjustment index. Research Findings Apriori to examining the data, a decision was made to accept findings as substantively meaningful if (1) the probability level is equal to or less than .05 using a one-tailed T test, and (2)

the statistical association is strong enough to account for about 5% of the variation in the correlated variables ($r^2 = .05$). This was seen as reasonable given the almost limitless universe of variables that could affect the social-psychological development of children.

Zero order correlations (Pearson product-moment) between the major variables about which data was collected is found in Table 1.

Table 2 is a display of selected relationships as they bear on the four hypotheses specified by each of the theoretical models for early socialization. Also, Table 2 shows partial correlation coefficients computed for what seemed, on logical grounds, to be relevant control variables; and whether or not one would reject or fail to reject each hypothesis given the criteria outlined previously. If one wanted to choose between the two model by counting hypotheses accepted, one would have to conclude that the socio-economic model is a slightly better fit to the data. However, a more conservative interpretation would find both models -- as stated -- seriously flawed, the interaction potential model more so than the SES model. Both models break down at the point where they specify a relationship between the independent variables and psychological attachments to family adults (parental identification). Nor can either model be salvaged merely by omitting the hypothesis which specified parental identification as the intervening variable, since the zero order relationship

TABLE 1: ZERO ORDER PEARSON

			I S.E.C.		II Family Structure		III Day Care Participation			
			1 Econ. S.	2 Educ. S.	3 FSC	4 FHH	5 Y/N	6 TT	7 Reg/ Occ	8 D/Wk
I	Family Economic Status	1		.804 (.001)	.769 (.001)	-.864 (.001)	.001 (.492)	-.052 (.299)	-.387 (.001)	-.614 (.001)
I	Educational Status	2		(.001)	.363 (.001)	-.415 (.001)	.072 (.144)	.001 (.497)	-.117 (.098)	-.314 (.001)
II	Family Structure Complexity	3				-.717 (.001)	-.111 (.030)	.127 (.070)	-.213 (.009)	-.405 (.001)
II	Female Held Household	4					.105 (.039)	.010 (.453)	.349 (.001)	.556 (.001)
III	Yes/No	5						.189 (.014)	-.076 (.202)	-.045 (.314)
III	Total Time	6							-.033 (.358)	.027 (.386)
III	Regular/ Occasional	7								.608 (.001)
III	Days/Week	8								
III	Hrs/Day	9								
IV	Total Activities	10								
IV	Modal Activities	11								
V	Adult Aggression	12								
V	Decreased Difficulty with Child	13								
VI	Warm	14								
VI	Cold	15								
VI	Warmth Ratio	16								
VII	Parental Identification	17								
VIII	Self Concept	18								
IX	Behavioral Adjustment	19								

CORRELATION MATRIX

	IV Family Interaction		V Parent Attitudes		VI Parent Behavior		VII Parent Ident.	VIII Self Concept	IX Social Behavioral Adjustment
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
HR/D	TA	MA	AA	DWC	W	C	W/C	PI	SC	SBA
-.101 (.091)	.161 (.016)	.165 (.015)	.256 (.001)	.330 (.001)	.254 (.001)	-.024 (.384)	.220 (.002)	.027 (.363)	-.031 (.342)	.078 (.150)
-.115 (.026)	.151 (.005)	.137 (.010)	.252 (.001)	.276 (.001)	.125 (.017)	-.060 (.158)	.117 (.024)	-.029 (.315)	.012 (.416)	.057 (.116)
.047 (.213)	.025 (.337)	.114 (.027)	.165 (.003)	.133 (.012)	.152 (.008)	.016 (.394)	.068 (.125)	.079 (.095)	-.075 (.102)	-.112 (.029)
-.050 (.201)	-.067 (.131)	-.176 (.001)	-.262 (.001)	-.245 (.001)	-.134 (.012)	-.028 (.318)	-.106 (.038)	-.051 (.200)	.057 (.168)	-.032 (.295)
-.401 (.001)	.030 (.307)	-.056 (.174)	.058 (.164)	-.002 (.484)	.034 (.283)	-.216 (.001)	.086 (.074)	.110 (.035)	.025 (.338)	-.073 (.109)
-.137 (.057)	.129 (.068)	-.068 (.215)	-.017 (.108)	.075 (.193)	.025 (.433)	.179 (.019)	.066 (.224)	.086 (.166)	.154 (.037)	-.056 (.259)
-.207 (.011)	-.018 (.419)	.055 (.273)	-.075 (.206)	-.049 (.295)	-.101 (.134)	-.088 (.166)	-.098 (.140)	-.158 (.043)	-.035 (.347)	-.056 (.269)
-.305 (.001)	-.061 (.255)	.063 (.249)	.195 (.017)	-.139 (.066)	-.077 (.203)	-.147 (.056)	-.060 (.260)	-.135 (.076)	.094 (.155)	-.084 (.183)
	-.037 (.266)	-.090 (.066)	-.086 (.074)	-.071 (.118)	.000 (.500)	.046 (.244)	.007 (.651)	.037 (.271)	-.164 (.003)	.074 (.105)
		-.093 (.058)	.149 (.006)	.150 (.006)	.114 (.027)	-.042 (.240)	.117 (.026)	-.118 (.026)	-.007 (.455)	-.068 (.127)
			.117 (.025)	.129 (.313)	-.049 (.205)	.021 (.364)	-.071 (.118)	.056 (.176)	-.093 (.057)	-.002 (.448)
				.186 (.001)	.088 (.071)	.114 (.031)	.038 (.264)	-.121 (.203)	-.102 (.042)	-.002 (.487)
					.165 (.003)	-.078 (.006)	.189 (.001)	-.037 (.271)	.070 (.118)	.197 (.001)
						-.191 (.013)	.917 (.001)	.000 (.500)	.152 (.005)	.138 (.010)
							-.394 (.001)	-.176 (.002)	-.316 (.001)	-.359 (.001)
								.067 (.135)	.263 (.001)	.254 (.001)
									.367 (.001)	.281 (.001)
										.361 (.001)

*For all relationships shown, t ≤.05.

table 2

SELECTED ZERO ORDER AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS RELATED TO HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESES & THEORETICAL MODELS	ZERO ORDER CORRELATIONS*	PARTIAL Rs Controlling for: Educ Status	Econ Status	FAMILY STRUCTURE COMPLEXITY	REJECT
Interaction Potential Model					
H1 Family Structure Complexity → Family Interaction	FSC x Family Interaction(1) NS	NS	NS		Reject for Family structure; fail to reject for Time.
Time (Dcc Part.) → Family Interaction	DCC (D/Wk) x F. INT (T) -.305	-.295	-.292		
H2 Family Interaction → Parental Identification	F. INT(Hrs/D) x P. IDENT. NS	NS	NS	NS	Reject
	F. INT(Total) x P. IDENT. NS	NS	NS	NS	
	F. INT(Model) x P. IDENT. NS	NS	NS	NS	
H3 PARENTAL IDENT → SELF CONCEPT	P. IDENT x SC .367	.490	.458	.453	Fail to reject
H4 SELF CONCEPT → SOCIAL BEHAVIOR ADJUSTMENT	SC x SBA .361	.468	.470	.470	Fail to reject
SES MODEL					
H1 SES → PARENTAL ATTITUDES & BEHAVIOR (DWC= less difficulty with child) (C/W= warmth ratio)	ECON S x DWC .330	.202		.267	Fail to reject
	ECON S x C/W .220	.196		.238	
H2 PARENTAL ATTs & BEHAVIOR → PARENTAL IDENTIFICATION	DWC x P. IDENT. NS	NS	NS	NS	Reject
	C/W x P. IDENT. NS	NS	NS	NS	
H3 P. IDENT → SELF CONCEPT H4 SELF CONCEPT → SOCIAL BEHAVIOR	SAME AS H 3, 4 ABOVE				Fail to reject

between maternal warmth (r = .263) and self concept becomes non-significant when controlling for SES and family structure complexity. Similarly, there is no significant zero order relationship between either dimension of the interaction potential of the family and the child's self concept, and no meaningful relationships appear when controlling for all variables.

A re-examination of the data suggested that there were important direct relationships between two of the independent variables (family SES, DCC participation) and the dependent socialization variables (parental identification, self concept, and social behavior adjustment). These relationships are summarized in Table 3. Such effects show up only when examining a relationship between one of the two independent variables and a dependent variable if the effects of the other independent variables are partialled out (e.g. computing a relationship between family SES and social behavior adjustment and partialling out the effects of DCC participation or family structure complexity). No similar relationship was demonstrated between the third independent variable (family structure complexity) and any of the dependent variable.

These direct relationships suggest that the effects of day care participation do not operate through the mechanism of reducing the actual frequency of primary interaction between the child and his family. This negative relationship between daycare

table three
ZERO ORDER AND PARTIAL CORRELATIONS:
SELECTED VARIABLES

VARIABLE	CORRELATED VARIABLE	ZERO ORDER CORRELATION	PARTIALS CONTROLLING FOR: ECON S.	EDUC S.	FSC
ECON STATUS	x SBA *	.078 (.150)		.133 (.140)	.264 (.015)
	x C/W **	.220 (.002)		.196 (.055)	.238 (.025)
	x DWC ***	.330 (.001)		.162 (.014)	.233 (.025)
	x SC ****	-.031 (.342)		-.009 (.469)	.076 (.269)
FAMILY STRUCT. COMPLEXITY	x SBA	.111 (.029)	-.006 (.456)	-.032 (.337)	
	x DWC	.239 (.001)	.015 (.007)	.113 (.029)	
DCC PARTICIPATION (Total Time)	x SC	.154 (.037)	.206 (.046)	.257 (.017)	.228 (.030)
(Reg/Occasional)	x P. IDENT *****	-.158 (.043)	-.204 (.048)	-.169 (.084)	-.223 (.034)
(Reg/Occ)	x SBA	-.092 (.156)	.134 (.136)	.161 (.084)	.207 (.045)
DIFFICULTY WITH CHILD	x SBA	.197 (.001)	.252 (.019)	.238 (.010)	.302 (.006)
	x C/W	.187 (.001)	.216 (.038)	.227 (.031)	.273 (.012)

* SBA = Social behavior adjustment
** C/W = Maternal warmth ratio
*** DWC = Decreased difficulty with the child
**** SC = Self concept
***** P.Ident = Identification with Parents

participation and a reduction in the frequency of primary interaction certainly exists and is strong, but the frequency of the child's primary family interaction is not meaningfully related to any of the dependent social-psychological variables. How might the negative relationship between day care participation and parental identification and the positive relationships between day care participation and self concept and social behavior adjustment be explained? A plausible explanation might be that the DCC provides other adults which become the basis for psychological attachments which, while they enhance the self concept and social behavior adjustment of the child, also weaken the exclusivity and strength of the child's identification with family adults. Thus the day care child may have a more diffuse set of adult identifications than the non-day care center child. It is also of note that such effects only occur where the child has been a long term and/or regular (vs. occasional) participant in DCC. If such an interpretation is valid, one might expect that the DCC would provide a better setting for such psychological attachments to develop between the children and the DCC workers where the internal structure of the DCC resembles a series of primary groups, i.e. where there is a high ratio of adults per child. Such an interpretation finds support in the data collected since there was found a negative relationship between the ratio of adults to children in the DCC and parental identification (r =

-.224, P = .007). To summarize the relationships in tables two and three, figure 1 is posited as amore plausible causal model of early socialization than either of the two theoretical models.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

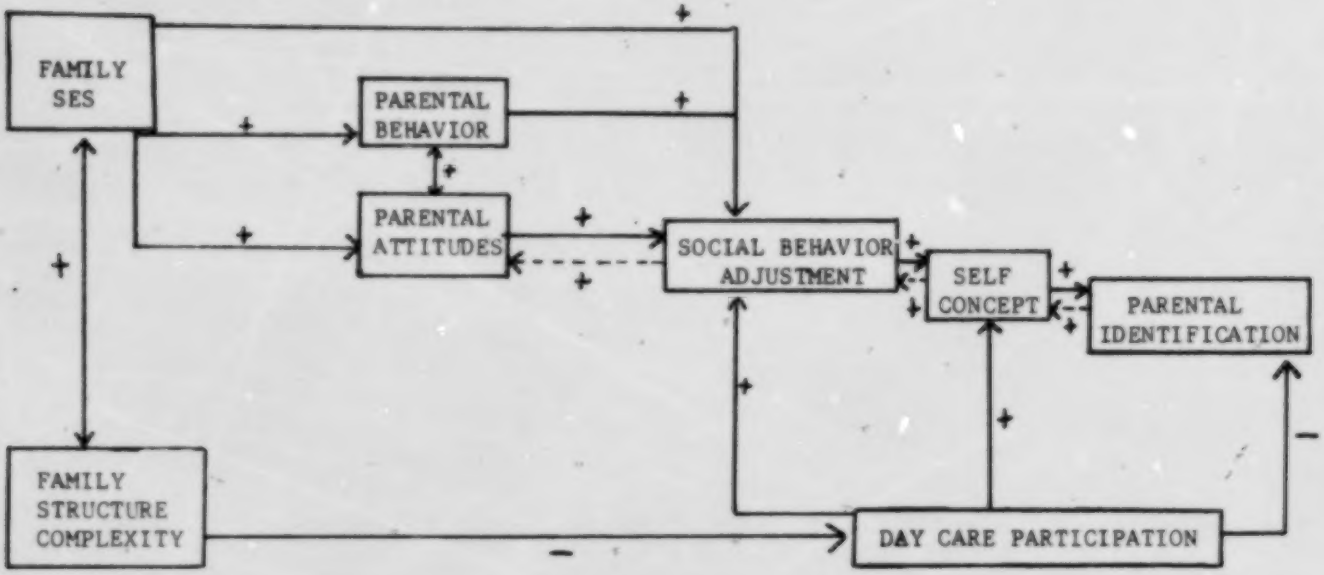
The evidence presented will be discussed in terms of the four issues initially raised by this paper, although they will not be presented in exactly the same order.

1. Causal Factors In The Primary Socialization Process

As can be seen from the model posited in figure 1, the evidence presented here suggests that causal factors in the primary socialization process are better understood as family SES and SES related attitudes and behavior rather than family structure complexity. (e.s. size and role "completeness" and complexity). Similarly, the child's participation in extra-familial institutions seem to have an impact on the socialization process. Furthermore, SES and DCC participation seem not to affect the socialization process through modifying the level of primary interaction between child and family members, which apparently plays a minimal role in outcomes of the socialization process. The present data suggest that the effects of SES work partially through class-correlated parental attitudes and behaviors while the effects of day care participation suggest that the child benefits by having social contacts with a variety of types of other adults. Exactly why the latter is so is at

Figure 1

A MODEL FOR PRIMARY SOCIALIZATION



NOTE: Dotted lines indicate feedback mechanisms

present unclear, and cannot be inferred with any certainty from the present data. In sum, SES, and day care participation would seem to operate as independent functional alternatives in terms of providing families with socialization resources for young children.

2. Symbolic Interaction Theory

The present data seem to confirm the assertions of symbolic interaction theory under question, namely that there is a strong relationship between identification with significant others, self concept, and social behavior. Indeed, one of the strongest statistical relationships found in the entire study was the relationship between self concept and social behavior adjustment ($r = .361$) and controlling for various factors only makes the relationship stronger (Educ. $r = .490$, FSC, $r = .447$, SES, $r = .470$). This seems especially impressive given that they were measured in vastly different ways, the former by a projective-type self concept administered to the child, the latter through an assessment of the child's social behavior by the parent. In sum, the present data would suggest that those theoretical orientations which treat self images as unimportant or unrelated to actual behavior are in error. Since when controlling for SES, self concept was found to explain about 22% of the variance in the behavioral measure ($r = .221$). The issue of causal order between the three variables in question is uncertain, because the data

analysis did not permit such inferences to be made with any certainty. Speculatively, the data seem to suggest that the initial expectation that parental identification would be a critical variable mediating between the independent variables (SES and Family structure) and the dependent variables (self concept, social behavior adjustment) was not justified, since parental identification was not found meaningfully related to either set of independent variables. Using the same logic, the fact that social behavior adjustment is meaningfully related to family SES and parent attitudes and behaviors, the existence of a strong relationship between social behavior adjustment and self concept, and the fact that parental identification is meaningfully related only to self concept would suggest the following causal order: social behavior adjustment--->self concept---> identification. This would imply that one's self concept is developed in terms of the feedback one gets from others about one's behavior, and that a healthy sense of self esteem becomes the basis for positive psychological attachments to others. This interpretation in no way contradicts the symbolic interactionist orientation (since one of its weaknesses is the absence of specification in causal order among variables) and is broadly consistent with Cooley's classic notion of the "looking-glass-self". To underscore the caveat entered above, this interpretation should be treated as highly speculative, since the rather rudimentary data analysis utilized

thus far do not permit the establishment of causal order with any certainty.

3. The Integration And Cohesion Of The Family In Industrial Societies

The data presented here seem to support, in a small way, the contention of those analysts cited earlier who argue that the encroachments of other institutions have lessened the cohesiveness of the nuclear family, as opposed to those who have argued that the family is evolving into a more cohesive, specialized agency for interpersonal and affective gratification. As previously mentioned, the present study cast only tangential light on the "institutional encroachment" hypothesis, since it has a cross-sectional design, and assumes that the strength of the child's attachments to parents is a valid indicator of family integration in all its multiform dimensions. It could be, to the contrary, that the effect of the child's participation in a DCC or family integration and viability is more than offset by freeing the mother to enter the labor market and thus substantially enhancing the material security of the family, a factor well known to have a powerful effect on family stability. A plausible test of the hypothesis in question would seem to involve at least (1) a multi-dimensional indicator of family integration, (2) a longitudinal study of the same families through various stages of the family life cycle, and (3) a longitudinal study of an adequate sample of families through a more extensive time period. Even if

these conditions were met, one would still be hesitant about drawing conclusions about the characteristics of contemporary families compared with those of the more distant past, since an adequate data base does not exist for the latter. As Goode (1975) has commented, until recently family sociologists have treated change in the family in terms of the evolution of today's form from a largely mythical and highly romanticized conception of the frontier family.

4. The Impact Of The Day Care Center On The Social-Psychological Development Of Young Children

Similar caveats must be entered about drawing firm implications for the formulation of social policy on the effects of day care centers. Even though care was taken to draw a sample of families and DCCs to be as representative as possible, it is well to reiterate that the present study still utilized a matching design, one would hesitate to draw firm conclusions for social policy on the basis of anything other than a large national probability sample. With these limitations in mind, the present evidence does not seem to justify the fears of those who suggest that DCC participation has a deletarious effect on the child's social-psychological development, at least in terms of the variables under consideration here. True, there does seem to be a diminution of the child's psychological attachments to parents, but that relationship (with DCC participation explaining only about 4% of the variance in parental identification) is a very

modest one in terms of the potential universe of forces affecting parental identification. All other effects, when found, would seem to enhance the socialization of the child. These findings are consistent with those of earlier studies mentioned (Calwell et al., 1970; Braun and C., 1972). Assuming the validity of the finding that family structure, and DCCs each can function as independent resources for the social-psychological development of the child, the policy implications would seem to be that, assuming sufficient public interest in subsidizing and expanding DCCs, special attention might be given to selectively subsidizing those families with inadequate structural (e.g. single parent families) or status resources (e.g. low income families) as a first priority. Suggestions can be made for further research. First, since the present study treats the effects of day care participation in aggregated form, not distinguishing between the possible effects of different kinds of DCCs, in terms of structural variations and program emphasis, it would seem critical to examine evidence which does make such distinctions. Such data has been collected and will be the subject of a subsequent report. Second, it seems critically important to examine the theoretical model for early socialization posited here in the context of some type multivariate analysis equipped to give a better estimate of the causal ordering between variables and establish the relative magnitudes of the contribution of each of the variables in the

model. This also is on our agenda for a subsequent report. To summarize briefly, the present paper has addressed a number of issues. First, it has addressed the issue of concern for the "effects" of DCCs on the socialization and development of young children and largely found those concerns unjustified, in terms of the variables considered. Secondly, it has examined two theoretical models of primary socialization and suggested that, in modified form, a model using family SES as an independent variable is more credible in terms of the data. Third, it addressed and found credible in terms of the evidence some of the assertions of symbolic interaction theory: that there is a relationship between social behavior, self concept, and identification with significant others. Fourth, it has examined and found some support in a very limited and tangential way the suggestion by several family sociologists that the encroachment of other institutions may in fact have a negative impact on the cohesion of the family unit. Additionally, several suggestions were made for future research.

ENDNOTES

1. The developmental psychologists are concerned with the possible impact of such programs on the social-psychological development of the child, whereas the family sociologists are primarily interested in the effects of such programs on the cohesiveness and integration of the family unit.
2. The following values were assigned to tap family "completeness" size and role complexity:
   1 = one parent, no older sibs, no other relatives living in the household,
   2 = one parent, one or more older sibs, and/or other relatives in the household, or two parents, no older sibs, no other relatives living in the household,
   3 = two parents, one or more older sibs, and/or one or more other relatives living in the household.
3. A value of 1 was assigned for each positive choice, and 0 was assigned for each negative choice. The summed self concept score is merely the summed scores for each card.

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